1: Spier E-5 (1918) 1928
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

stewed. It may be placed in warm water to simmer; then bean flour is added to thicken the stew. Squirrels should be eaten fresh. The viscera are removed, and if it is to be boiled, the skin, head, and tail as well, but not if it is to be roasted. Rabbits are roasted in the ashes and possibly in roasting pits. Doves and quail are eaten, but only infrequently although they abound at harvest time. Only quail eggs are eaten.

Fish are neither caught nor eaten. (These live in the Colorado but not in Cataract Creek.) Fish are not tabooed, but the Havasupai are afraid to eat them because they never have eaten them. Snakes, frogs, and lizards are not eaten; in fact, they mock the Walapai for eating the last mentioned.

Most cooking is done out-of-doors and meals are served there also. The cooking vessels, trays of fruit and bread, and vessels of drink are placed together on the ground. A vessel of ground salt stands near by, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of cooking. The whole family groups itself about these, within easy reach of the one or two *pièces de résistance*. Bits of meat are fished from the stews with fingers, twigs, or knives, while the mush is scooped or sopped up with a bit of bread, flat sticks, little horn and wooden spoons,[1] or even with three fingers. Eating manners are fairly decorous by our standards. Even small children help themselves, but forwardness, quarreling, and especially pilfering before meals, is met by sharp reproof. As a rule women and children eat with the men, but when there are male visitors, the former often wait their turn. In such a case, for example at a dance, the men leave a fair share of the food. As a rule three meals are eaten during the day, but that at midday is somewhat inconsequential. The others are substantial; breakfast on rising, and the last meal after sundown. Everyone eats irregularly throughout the day, for to whatever camp one goes there is always cookery in progress; corn roasting, a load of peaches brought home, and so on. While considerable is eaten at each meal, no food is ever wasted, and the natives do not stuff. Those who have seen the Zuñi in the Hopi villages ridicule their habit of expressing thanks after a meal.

Comparative Notes

Havasupai agriculture is one of the few traits shared with Pueblo culture. The general distribution of cultivation through the Americas is well known, but there has been no attempt at fixing its northern limits in the Southwest in detail.

[1] Cushing, (a), 330.

2:Iliff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

how we needed it! The air in the room was thick with the smell of sweating bodies and campfire smoke. I kept wondering why Lucy was not in school that day, so asked Sue, her sister. Sue was an intelligent girl of thirteen, and quite unhappy about Lucy. She told me that her father had sold her sister to an elderly widower because he offered more blankets and corn than the boy with whom Lucy was in love could pay. I wondered if I should rescue Lucy from the old widower's clutches, and argued the matter with myself until the task of trying to teach seventy-one pupils in that hot room drove all thought of her thwarted romance from my mind.

Shortly before the noon recess, the room grew dark, except for occasional flashes of lightning. Heavy rolls of thunder reverberated up and down the canyon. Rain was pouring at dismissal time, so we sang songs until the quick summer shower had passed. Unless Frances and her detail of boys and girls had the food cooked before the rain came, there would be no hot lunch for the children, since the cooking was done out of doors. The dining tables stood under the big tree in front of our cottage.

The officers marched their companies to the tables, which had been hastily wiped off and set after the shower. There were dishes of stew and cooked dried fruit on each table. I tapped the bell for silence, and the children said grace, yanked the stools from under the tables and began filling their plates. The habit of eating hurriedly was their heritage from the days in the not distant past, when too many meals had been interrupted by enemy raids.

As a special honor, and also because we needed their help, we seated an older boy at one end of every table and an older girl at the opposite end, each an officer. They served the smaller children, then usually got too busy with their own meal to give further attention. So I supervised the serving of the food, giving help where needed and encouraging correct table manners.

The waiters brought plates of hot biscuits; they were emptied as they touched the tables but when the biscuits were broken open, the inside was soft dough. The shrub, under which the range

2:Hiff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Tumsas NT14
Havasupai

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Some Havasupai children have an uninhibited watermelon feast

[p.116K]

2:Illiff Y-5 (ca.1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

who stuck it in the pocket of his jeans, grunted loudly, mounted his horse and rode off. Now that he had his blanket, he would ride up the trail tomorrow and across the mesa to Seligman, the mail pouch tied to his saddle.

We settled our troubles as they came to us, so the Postmaster General never knew that a game of chance, played several years before, had that day delayed the delivery of the United States mail.

Walapai Bill took the matter seriously when he realized that his crime could have landed him behind bars, and was grateful for the settlement. He offered his hand in friendship, grinned broadly and said, "You ride my horse. I think good you ride him."

The big bay was in a brush corral near the house. His long bony head and long legs reminded me of that dash across the race track on our way to the Grand Canyon. I declined as graciously as possible, for the morning had taken on a new beauty and I wanted to walk home. The fog, that rose nightly from the stream, drifted upward between the red walls, trailing long streamers. The white clouds it formed sailed majestically eastward across the wide strip of blue sky above the village. Rills of sparkling water traced patterns from the stream to the thirsty gardens. The people were tilling the soil, irrigating their crops or eating their early meal.

Kate sat by her outdoor fire, eating toasted sunflower seed from a shallow basket. She grinned at me and I squatted by her fire; its warmth on my cold, wet clothing was something to appreciate. She did not permit my presence to interfere with her breakfast, but scooped up a handful of the crisp seeds, poured them into the right corner of her mouth, moved her jaws for a few seconds, then let an uninterrupted stream of hulls drop from the left corner. Repeatedly she scooped up more seeds, poured them into her mouth without disturbing the outward flow of hulls. It was as mechanical as a gristmill.

"How do you do it, Kate?" I asked, laughing.

She thrust out her tongue. *"It,"* she said, moving her tongue across her mouth from right to left. "You try," she invited, pushing the tray toward me.

Children visit other camps until they are eight or nine years old, usually asking permission to leave their homes. Boys have more freedom in visiting and are less likely to ask permission than are girls. A child eats wherever he happens to be at mealtime if food is offered. Young children are expected to be home by dark. When a child is visiting another camp, his adult hosts may correct his misbehavior and "try to help him do what is right." 857 574 [264] [867]

Gambling games are learned by both sexes. Children of six or seven imitate the men's "hidden ball" game and the "stick and rock" game, without a full knowledge of the rules. At 10 or 12 years of age, both boys and girls join teenagers and young adults at the "stick and rock" game in the public gambling place, each player usually betting a dime per game. 857 525

Both boys and girls learn to swim at four or five years of age. So far as could be discovered, no Havasupai child has ever drowned in the creek which bisects the inhabited area. (The only known drowning of a Havasupai child occurred in an irrigation ditch in a neighboring white community.) A youngster is taken by his parents to Havasu Creek for bathing about the time he can walk. Families usually go to the stream each afternoon for this purpose. A father, mother, and their small children go together, whereas older children join friends of their own age and make more sport of the occasion. If a small child is afraid of the water, he is not ridiculed nor coaxed, but is permitted to sit quietly on the bank. A frightened child thus forgets his fears in watching the fun of others. It is doubtful that there is any Havasupai adult or child over seven or eight years of age who cannot swim. 868 857 [481] [165] [515]

A small child is first taken into shallow water by one of his parents and kept there only long enough to be bathed and perhaps to splash a little. As the child grows and gains in confidence, he plays with adults and other small children in water knee-deep or hip-deep. Even a child of four who cannot swim will participate in simple water games.

Children of four or five go with older children, unaccompanied by adults, to swim and play at various holes along the stream course. The younger children do not venture beyond a safe depth, and I never saw or heard of any child having to be rescued from the water. There seems to be little anxiety by parents concerning safety of their children when they are in or near the creek. Swimmers conduct themselves neither carelessly nor recklessly; they appear to avoid any action that would place themselves or others in danger.

When a child wishes to go into deep water, a teenager or an adult may take him in and support him or stand by until it appears safe for the child to strike out alone. Usually a child has learned to swim and dive in the shallow pools before he ventures into deep water. Children dive under water to retrieve rocks, do handstands, race to catch a floating object, play

relatives who stop by to tend the fire for warmth in winter, cook, bring food, or perform other small services. Some relative may visit at the camp for a few weeks or months, but such care is intermittent, and the unfortunate aged without children may suffer from neglect, especially if they are unable to move about or prepare food. 888 737

Two Observed Cases

A feeble woman of 86 years was observed daily during a period of three weeks while the investigator was interviewing the daughter with whom the old lady was living at the Grand Canyon Village.

She could hear well but was almost totally blind. Her face was a maze of loose wrinkles, the edges of her eyelids barely distinguishable among the other lines unless she partially opened her right eye, as she did occasionally. Her tangled grey hair straggled loosely about her face. On a pile of dirty rags, she sat or lay beside the campfire. On her frail, stooped figure she wore the same tattered, filthy dress, sweater, and machine-made moccasins during the entire three weeks and probably slept in these garments at night. She was never seen washing, and showed no evidence of having done so. [145] [515]

She was fed thin cornmeal soup and small portions of whatever the family had that she could swallow in her apparently toothless state. She drank her food from a saucepan or small granite bowl, using her fingers for more solid morsels. Her son-in-law had traded some red rock powder in Moenkopi for about $5 worth of piki bread, of which she was especially fond. She crumbled it in small pieces, scooped it up in both hands, and with head tilted back, emptied it into her mouth. [262] [415] [264]

The old woman was able to hobble about leaning upon a stick cane. To reach her toilet area she followed a mooring rope along the side of the tent in which her daughter's family lived, then followed a rope strung for her from a rear corner of the tent around some trees which removed her a little distance from the camp but not from sight. Once, when the old woman hobbled some distance from the camp gathering wood chips in a bag slung over her shoulder, she was guided back by her small grandson. Occasionally, she would wander off to visit a neighbor and would hobble around in circles until someone came to her rescue. On these occasions, the adults would call a child to her assistance and would keep shouting instructions to her and the youngster rather than themselves helping her unless no child was within calling distance. The children would lead her with a stick rather than touch her. Adults showed an equal distaste for personal contact with her, yet her toddling grandchildren were permitted to sit in her lap and her daughters-in-law readily placed their babies in her arms. [314] [482] [574]

252a few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, catching them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

241 Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden bas-
251 kets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is ground on the *metate*, pressed into large cakes and packed away.

251 Much of the beef and game is roasted and boiled while fresh, but
252 often it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin strips and hung in the sun to dry. It is generally necessary to pound this jerky with a pestle before it is cooked and then it is commonly stewed with dried squash or corn. Bean flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

222 In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several
262 wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter residence on the plateau. The piñon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground
252 on the *metate* into a paste resembling peanut butter.

272 A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of
222 seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and
252 utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

222 The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers
252 mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

343 plaster. Marks were made on each seal so that the owner could
[423] readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the Indians' food supply safe from the floods that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock
[33] walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

252 Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed un-
132 der trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or
361 seven hours between the cliffs, imparting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocobya Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the
[342] plateau, the house is a sort of *hogan* of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

264 In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the
[253] meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always
[263] stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are fished from the stews with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while mush is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

252 Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard
415 cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in
[285] use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting piñon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are roasted.

[227] The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vege-
252 tables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns,
412 and piñon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, piñon nuts and corn, also.

177 The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The
291 men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers
302 large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

291 Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

tion variously, — by roasting, broiling, frying, baking, boiling, or drying. No part of the animal is wasted; blood, intestines, even visceral glands and organs, as well as the half-digested vegetable matter from the stomachs of the deer, antelope, and rabbit, being utilized as food. The liver is frequently eaten raw, immediately on the death of the animal.

Their implements for preparing food are few. The muller, or rubbing-stone, and the metlatl, or mill, of sandstone or volcanic rock, and various in size, flat transversely, and concave from end to end, placed upon a skin, are used for grinding; while large, round, closely-woven trays of basket work, coated with mineral asphaltum and earth, make excellent roasting pans. Earthen pots and brass kettles, procured by barter with the Moquis, serve as cooking vessels. Moqui bowls and native baskets are used in serving food, which is dipped from the cooking pot with large ladles of horn or wood, and eaten either with the fingers, flat sticks, or little wooden and horn spoons. Large panniers, slung over the forehead or shoulders with a broad strap of raw-hide, are used in collecting food, or carrying it to and from the distant granaries; and certain huge, small-necked, round-bottomed basket bottles serve as canteens and water-jars. Knives of band-iron, occasionally of good steel, have displaced, save in rare instances, the original flint instruments, as have also chisel-shaped fragments of iron or steel, inserted into wooden handles, like primitive stone axes, supplanted the scarcely ruder prehistoric implement. Sharpened bone or hard-wood splints and bits of stray wire make awls and needles; and sharp bone, or chipped discs of rock, their skin-dressers. Various stone hammers and mauls, with flat stones used about the fire, complete the limited yet all-sufficient list of Ha-va-su-pai household appliances.

In their agricultural operations and in the excavation of mescal pits, rude hoes,